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2. BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE ARCHBISHOP (1629–1636)

THE IRISH PROVINCE OF THE ORDER OF FRANCISCANS OF THE STRICTER OBSERVANCE: FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE BALTIC

Who exactly were the Franciscans who were called Hibernians (hyberni) by the people of Prague? In 1517, after more than three hundred years of the existence of the Order of Friars Minor, founded in 1209 by St. Francis of Assisi, it was divided into two separate orders – Conventuals and Observants. One of the Observant provinces, which was subordinated only to the general of the order and his definitorium, was the Irish province. From the 1580s, the Irish Franciscans were outlawed and persecuted by Queen Elizabeth. Admittedly, for many of them, this did not mean that they had to leave Ireland, but for many years they were forced to hide and at times minister under very difficult conditions. Oppression on the part of the English occurred in several waves in the seventeenth century, the worst of which was the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland. At the beginning of the century, some of the Franciscans went abroad to establish a more peaceful environment, not only for the education of their own friars and fellow countrymen, but also for the training of missionaries who were sent back to Ireland, particularly during the Cromwellian repression. In this way, several colleges gradually appeared outside their homeland, among them the college in Prague; these teaching institutions remained part of the Irish province. The Irish Franciscans, or rather some of them, then returned home as missionaries, for many of whom this meant death or imprisonment.

In order to better understand the purpose of the colleges of the Irish Franciscans, we must give a survey of the structure of the Irish province and the powers of its institutions and organs.[1]

The basic community was the friary, of which there were sixty-four in total in Ireland, divided among the four traditional provinces as follows: twenty-two in Munster, twenty in Leinster, thirteen in Connaught and nine in Ulster. As has been mentioned above, some friaries

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had been dispersed and their members were hiding in forests and caves. As elsewhere in the order, at the head stood the provincial, who also often had to conceal where he was living.[2] Several communities of Poor Clares and Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis also fell within the Irish Franciscan province. (The first Poor Clare convent in Ireland was established in Dublin in 1629 and there is no clear evidence of Franciscan nuns before this.)

The basic assembly, the provincial chapter, took place every three years, chaired by a special delegate of the general of the order. The chairman was usually a friar appointed by the general council. He was called a commissary visitator and before a meeting of the chapter would lead a canonical visitation. The main purpose of the provincial chapter was to elect the provincial and his definitory. In times of danger and if the chapter could not meet, the provincial and the superiors of the province were appointed by the general of the order or by the Holy See. The provincial chapter was the highest source of power in the province. It had the right to create regulations. Its highest representatives were the provincial, the custos and four definitors. All of these were elected. There were also differences between the rest of the order and the Irish province: for example, only two former provincials or *patres provinciae* could be admitted to the definitory of the Irish province. Apart from this, an interim chapter (*congregatio intermedia*) could be arranged. It mostly took place in the second year of the provincial's three-year office, and it was the provincial who presided. It was not intended for the election of a new provincial but as a meeting of the provincial, the definitory and the *patres provinciae*, or former provincials. Local representatives did not participate. Interim chapters did not have the right to create regulations or constitutions, but they were able to regulate essential business in the administration of the province by means of decrees. If a seat became vacant, they could appoint a representative, replace the current guardian or praeses and confer diplomas on preachers and confessors. Interim chapters were very important, because during them the list of four candidates, members of the province, was drawn up and submitted to the general of the order. He named one of them commissary visitator and president of the next chapter. The Irish province received the privilege of presenting the proposed names in 1612, and it was confirmed in 1651. The Irish Francisans were awarded the privilege as a result of the bitter persecution in Ireland. Although there is no word of interim chapters, it is clear that this was done in connection with them because in this period of repression there was a huge time lag in communication between the provincial and the curia of the order and therefore lengthy preparation was needed.

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Religious persecution, as has been mentioned, forced some of the Franciscans to emigrate. Before the Cromwellian repressions, they had founded four colleges or teaching institutions for the training and preparation of new members of the order on the Continent, and two more were gradually added. This, in its own way, influenced the reorganisation, development and structure of the Irish province for many years. The first continental foundation, St. Anthony's College in Louvain, appeared as early as 1607, to provide the persecuted Irish province with missionaries and friars. It later supplied other European Franciscan centres with lectors in theology and philosophy. It was financed primarily by Irish soldiers serving in Europe. Otherwise, the Irish Franciscans in the college were so poor that if they wanted money for a journey to Ireland they were forced to beg for alms from door to door.

Fifty years after it was founded, the Franciscans' college in Louvain was famous for its scholarship, not only in theology, but also in the Irish language, hagiography and history. Mainly, however, it acted as a refuge for friars who had escaped (especially during the Cromwellian oppression), but the number of those arriving became excessive and so those who had taken vows were sent to the colleges in Rome or Prague. The head of the college was the guardian, who, under normal circumstances, was appointed from Ireland. Because of its geographical position, the college was granted quasi-provincial or extra powers normally reserved for the provincial (1626); it could order members of the order to return to Ireland, accept novices, accept professions, and perform priestly and lesser ordinations. In 1655, the commissary *pro natio Germano-Belgica* issued a proclamation requiring all those who had arrived without a permanent place of residence and whom he had sent to St. Anthony's College or those who had arrived with "letters of obedience" from the prelates of their orders to subordinate themselves to a representative of the college and behave according to the college's regulations.

In 1625, with the help of Pope Urban VIII and the general of the order, Benigno da Genova, Fr. Luke Wadding founded St. Isidore's College in Rome. Although this was part of the Irish province, its guardian was appointed by the general. St. Isidore's College became the centre of a revived Scotism and functioned primarily as an establishment for the training of missionaries and was intended for the teaching of theology and Church affairs. It became essentially a storehouse for lectors in philosophy and theology, who dispersed into various European provinces of the order.

The third institution of Irish Franciscans outside the province was the College of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in Prague (1629) and the fourth was the Friary of

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the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in Wieluń in Poland (1645), from which, however, the Irish had already been expelled in 1653. In the same year, a residence (a small house of the order) was established in Paris and, in 1656, the Friary of Our Lady of the Plain was founded in Capranica in the province of Viterbo in Italy. The latter served as a novitiate.[3]

Commissaries and others at the same level of authority helped to improve, develop and speed up relationships between the closer and more distant provinces and the centre of the order, as well as the specifically built houses of the order outside the Irish province itself.

Because they are of such extraordinary importance for the Prague college, here is a survey of these. The first of them was the commissary general for the *natio Germano-Belgica*. In 1526, the general congregation of the order decreed that the transalpine Franciscans were to be divided into three "nations": German, Spanish and French. Although the Scots and the English belonged to the German "nation," the Irish Franciscans became part of the Spanish "nation;" the Irish province may have been "part" of this but it is uncertain, though there were close links possibly thanks to the important cultural and trade contacts between the Irish and the Spanish and ultimately to their geographical position, which enabled speedy links by sea. Later, after the extinction of the Spanish and French "nations," the Irish province, probably because of the location of the Louvain college, was attached to the German "nation" (first mentioned in 1630), which was soon renamed *natio Germano-Belgica*. The division into "nations" relates mainly to the Recollect movement within the Observants. Each "nation" had a different experience: the German-Belgian absorbed the other Observants, the French existed side by side with the Observants, each enjoying autonomy, while the Spanish Recollects remained under the jurisdiction of the Observants. The "nations" experienced near extinction at the time of the French Revolution. The extensive powers of the commissary for the *natio Germano-Belgica* were a result of the fact that most of the provinces were contaminated by the Lutheran and English "heresies." In the years 1636 to 1837, the *natio Germano-Belgica* had its own agent – a *sollicitator* – in the curia.

Over time, the office of the Irish commissary gained in importance for the Irish Franciscan college. After the Prague college was destroyed in 1631 during the Saxon invasion, the Irish friars returned but were met with the opposition of the Austrian Franciscans and the Bohemian Capuchins. In 1633, the affair ended up before the general chapter in Toledo: the general of the order, Juan de Campaña, placed the college directly under his authority and named the

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Irishman, Hugh Burke, his special delegate, with the authority and powers of a commissary general, to oversee the affairs of the college. In 1634, Burke was confirmed in office and his authority extended to Louvain, but several years of setbacks were to follow.

The commissary for the *natio Germano-Belgica* was made superior to the commissary for the colleges, but it is not clear what authority he had in the case of the Prague college, which actually lay outside his area.

When attempts were made in 1648 to remove the colleges in Prague and Wieluń from the Irish province, into which they had been incorporated by the general of the order, and amalgamate them under the authority of the commissary general for Upper Germany, Italian Father Maxentius ab Arco, the vicar general, Daniel a Dongo, announced two years later that the students belonged to the Irish province and temporarily placed them under his own jurisdiction. It showed, however, that the colleges, which were far from the centre and outside the area of the province, could not be administered because the order's bureaucracy was too slow.

After the chapter in 1650, John Colgan was appointed the new commissary for the order's houses in Louvain, Prague and Wieluń, and their members had to swear obedience to him. Squabbles and jealousy afflicted the colleges, whose members began to divide into groups according to whether they supported the greater or lesser dependence of the colleges on the centre. Finally in 1653, the general of the order, Pedro Manero, intervened. He very severely reproached the Louvain Franciscans for their discord, disunity and inability to accept the Rule, the visitator, etc. and threatened the direst of punishments. He confirmed Daly, Colgan's successor, in office and, under the threat of excommunication, he compelled the Louvain friars, who had most strongly resisted the influence of the Irish commissary for the college, to an oath of obedience.

Daly also took action that same year. In a long letter to the Cardinals, he explained the importance of the seminaries and colleges abroad for the support of the Irish missionaries and intellectuals. His efforts finally led to Pope Alexander II, at a general assembly of the sacred congregation *De propaganda fide*, issuing a decree by which all Irish Franciscan houses, in whichever country they might be, came under the administration of the Irish province.

In 1661, however, further adjustments were made to the standing of the colleges, which returned them to the situation which had applied prior to Daniel a Dongo's ruling of 1650. The authority of the Irish provincial was limited, which meant he could only select the Louvain guardian. Nevertheless, the college in Prague also came within his authority because it was part of the Irish province. The guardian was appointed by the general of the order, who could,

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however, only select one person out of four who had been nominated by the discretorium. At that time, there was no longer any mention of a commissary for the college and the commissary for the college, Bernardine Barry, learnt from a letter that neither the provincial nor the college were asking for a commissary to be appointed. After that, the colleges were to prepare for discussions concerning the visitation of the commissary for the *natio Germano-Belgica*.

The commissary for Upper Germany, who usually resided in Vienna and to whose jurisdiction the Prague college belonged geographically, also had an influence on the fate of the college. Sometimes his authority over the college was weakened, such as in the years 1650 to 1662, thanks to the existence and activities of the commissary for the college.

The final person who was on the same level as the commissary general was the *procurator* – the representative of a province or provinces of the same language group at the courts of Europe. The procurator of the Irish province was based in Madrid.

When comparing the political situation in Bohemia and Ireland in the course of the seventeenth century, we can see two completely different pictures of the period. All that the two countries had in common was religious oppression and persecution. The forced re-Catholicisation in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown with its Renewed Land Ordinance (1627) resulted in a complete Catholic monopoly whereas, at the same time, Irish Catholics were being widely persecuted by Protestants in accordance with the Penal Laws in Ireland. However, while the process of Catholic monopolisation of the Bohemian Crown Lands was more or less continuous, Catholics in Ireland saw a succession of good and bad times.[4]

Unfortunately, also in the Irish case, it all ended badly. After the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, the Banishment Act was passed by the Parliament of Ireland in 1697 as one of a series of Penal Laws. It banished all Catholic bishops from Ireland. The next year, Irish Franciscan authorities advised the friars to leave the country. In 1699, a brand new continental refuge for Irish Franciscans was established in Boulay, Lorraine. Nevertheless, this was unable to change the overall situation. Persecution of Catholics continued in Ireland. In the Irish Franciscan province, there was a lack of original scholars like those of the mid-seventeenth century. This applied to the whole Irish Franciscan province, so it was no surprise that Joseph MacMahon called this period “the silent century.”

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a wave of adverse events affected the continental refuges of the Irish Franciscans. The College of Immaculate Conception in Prague was abolished in 1786 by Emperor Joseph II when he launched reforms of the Church in his Central European monarchy. Boulay friary was dissolved at the beginning of the French Revolution,

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soon to be followed by St. Anthony's College in Louvain (1793). St. Isidore's College in Rome and the friary in Capranica were both closed in 1798, but this was only temporary since with the ultimate fall of Napoleon both institutes went back to the Irish Franciscans.[5]

As we have already seen and as we will be able to substantiate, in the course of time the two New Town Franciscan friaries, that is, the Irish Franciscan college and the Friary of Our Lady of the Snows, both cooperated and competed. The Friary of Our Lady of the Snows was also of course at the time a teaching institution for the local province, and the Irish were regarded by the Bohemian Franciscans as a foreign element. The history of the Bohemian Franciscans by Severin Vrbčanský from the middle of the eighteenth century provides no information about the Irish friars, apart from a reference to their attempt to establish their own friary in Namslav in Silesia.[6] At the same time, we know that from start to finish (which Vrbčanský understandably did not record), quite close contacts existed between the two institutions.

FALLON'S MISSION

At the beginning of 1629, travellers on the Empire's roads could observe a man in a dark brown habit with a cowl and a white cord around his waist stride steadily across the winter countryside from Louvain in the Spanish Netherlands towards his destination, the Austrian metropolis of Vienna. Like himself, his companion also had a wide shaved tonsure and walked the whole way barefoot.[7] Although the oddest travellers could be found on Central European roads in the storms of the Thirty Years' War, it would be difficult for the chance observer to judge by his simple outer appearance that this was a scholar and teacher, the brilliant theologian from the Franciscan St. Anthony's College in Louvain, Father Malachy Fallon,[8] who was hurrying to meet Emperor Ferdinand II (Fig. 7) on an important mission. Like his companion, Gerald Fitzgerald also called Geraldin, he was an Observant Franciscan who had had to leave his Irish homeland due to the religious oppression of the English.

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Fig. 7 Ferdinand II. Engraving by Balthasar Montcornet, 1630s (SK).

His intellectual ability, allied to his skills as a negotiator, led to Malachy Fallon being chosen by the superiors at his overcrowded Louvain college[9] to describe to the Emperor the fate of the Irish Catholics, to emphasise that the Irish Franciscan colleges were irreplaceable in the training of Irish priests and intellectuals and to ask him for permission to establish another such college within his Empire.

It would be an illusion to think that the first Irishman to arrive in Prague fleeing religious oppression was the founder of the Prague college himself, Malachy Fallon (Fig. 8).[10] This is refuted by a glance into the ordination register kept by the auxiliary Prague bishop, Šimon Brož for the years 1627 to 1643,[11] in which two Irishmen can be found as early as 1628: Arthur MacDonnell and Thaddeus O'Fian.[12] According to this document, from 1628 to 1643, a total of thirteen Irishmen were ordained, of whom at the very least two were members of an order (Dominican and Benedictine). The remainder, with one arguable exception, were secular priests. It cannot be ruled out that some of them later entered the Franciscan college, as in the case of Edmund MacGranna. He was ordained a secular priest in 1640, mentioned later as an Irish friar in the last will of Jeremiah O'Donovan dated 1653, and also mentioned in the will of Hugh

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Molloy dated 1657, according to which he received Molloy's personal effects. Hugh Molloy was, incidentally, also ordained (in 1636), his close relation to the Irish Franciscan college is clear from his will, in which he identifies himself as a Franciscan tertiary and appoints the guardian, Francis Magennis, as executor. So the Irish were already arriving in re-Catholicised Prague before the Franciscan college of their fellow countrymen was created.

Fig. 8 A Franciscan of stricter observance. Engraving by Christoph Weigel, Nuremberg 1711 (SK).

Anthony Bruodin described the beginning of the college in his *Propugnaculum*, but other sources complement his account and allow us to correct it. When the Irish Franciscans decided to found a new college, they had clearly already inspected the Prague terrain, or at least knew the situation. In this respect, therefore, Bruodin's account that Fallon confided to Cardinal Harrach – affected only by his sincere welcome – his hitherto secret aim of settling in Prague

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after his arrival there from Vienna in 1630 seems distinctly untrustworthy and is unmistakeably marked by Bruodin's propagandist inclinations.[13]

It is possible to refute it entirely by Fallon's own letter, sent on 13 March 1629, to the guardian of the Louvain college, Hugh Warde.[14] Fallon wrote it in Vienna but not only does he mention preparing to leave for Prague, he also says that he is returning to the city ("*revertemur Praga"*). Besides this, the text also contains other evidence that the writer had already visited the capital of Bohemia. It urges the Louvain guardian, for many reasons, not to select Vienna but Prague for the new college, explains that the most suitable time for the foundation of a house in "Germania" has just come and the most appropriate place appears to be Prague with its university. Among the requests for a letter of recommendation from the congregation *De propaganda fide* for Cardinal Harrach and others, it also mentions that the Archbishop of Prague is himself uncommonly gracious and favourably disposed to the matter. It is clear from this that even before Fallon's presence in Vienna in March; someone – most probably Fallon himself – must have met with Harrach. According to the letter, Fallon was preparing to start for Prague on 14 March, where he intended to spend Easter and even possibly try to find a place for the future college.[15] Fallon indeed reached Prague before Easter and managed to meet with Archbishop Harrach and persuade him to consent in writing to the establishment of the Irish friars as early as 18 April (the Wednesday after Easter) 1629 (Fig. 9), almost nine months before Ferdinand's founding charter.[16]

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Fig. 9 Archbishop Harrach invites believers to give Irish Francisans alms, 28 April 1629 (NA).

Malachy Fallon then turned his steps again towards Vienna to discuss an actual course of action at the Imperial Court. His negotiations with the Emperor ended successfully, thanks to the intercession of the monarch's son, Ferdinand, and despite the opposition of some of the Emperor's counsellors. When he then hurried to Prague, he carried with him the important document on parchment. It began with the words: "*We, Ferdinand the Second, by the grace of God, Roman Emperor. . .*" and after a comprehensive explanation of why it had been issued, it continued: "*we grant and allow the right of the friars of the named order and nation to establish in our aforementioned Royal City* [Prague] *for themselves and their own a residence. . .*".[17] The charter was dated 19 November 1629, in Vienna (Fig. 10).

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Fig. 10 The foundation chart of the Irish Franciscan college in Prague, 29 November 1629 (NA).

In Prague, Malachy Fallon stayed at the Franciscan Friary of Our Lady of the Snows, which would provide support for the Irish friars and, despite varying relations, caused by divergent and convergent interests, and to the Irish in Bohemia was (naturally) the closest house of the order. Fallon himself chose the site for the future college. It was to be the former monastery of the Ambrosians and become the Franciscan friary by St. Ambrose in Prague's New Town. At that time, however, it lay derelict and was called, due to an implemented conversion, "Na kovárně" ("The Forge"). Malachy Fallon then departed for Louvain, where he began preparations for the construction of the Prague house. Doubtless, the internal discussions were not as quick and unanimous as described by Anthony Bruodin. Not until 9 August in the following year did the provincial, Valentine Browne, appoint Hugh Warde lector in theology.[18] Not even the question of the formal subordination of the Prague college was quickly and satisfactorily resolved: it was only on 13 November that the guardian and council of St. Anthony's College in Louvain

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announced that the newly founded college in Prague would fall within the jurisdiction of the commissary general for Belgium.[19] In any case, we do know that the lector in theology, Patrick Fleming, who had been allegedly unanimously elected as the first guardian of the Prague college, arrived in Prague in the middle of November 1630, accompanied by Gerald Geraldin. Other friars arrived at the end of November the same year and in the following February.[20]

PATRICK FLEMING AND HIS DEATH

If it is possible to indisputably credit any one of the Irish with building, almost from nothing, the Irish Franciscan college in Prague's New Town, it would doubtless be Patrick Fleming. By his efforts (although not with his money) the purchase of the plots of land was accomplished, the work began and the first building was erected. For a long time, his violent death gave him the aura of a saint, and also in later accounts, Fleming overshadows his other contemporaries who were involved in the original activities in Prague. However, the quantity of Fleming's correspondence is much greater than that of his fellow friars and in other ways Fleming's leading position in the community is evident from this: a position to which he was clearly predestined by his noble origin.[21] Fleming wrote primarily to Robert Chamberlain, who was *lector jubilatus* in theology in Louvain, but also to two other men, the first of whom was linked with the spiritual birth of the college, the second with the diplomatic discussions connected with the Emperor's consent, that is, Luke Wadding and Malachy Fallon.

In the winter of 1631, Patrick Fleming, who bore the reputation of an able theologian and a resolute and fervent young man, was endeavouring – to the limit of his powers – to arrange the future residence. He and other Irish Franciscans continued to accept the hospitality of their Bohemian brethren at Our Lady of the Snows. The gloomy financial situation of the Irish friars was still complicated by a lack of knowledge of local conditions and insufficient contacts, although Bruodin asserts that there were enough sympathetic supporters.[22] Therefore, the unexpected support of the Imperial Military Counsellor, Don Martin de Hoff-Huerta[23] and the Secretary of the Bohemian Court Chancellery, the knight, Šimon Petr Oulík of Třebnice, also an Imperial Counsellor, must have seemed like manna from heaven. Both noblemen offered to build the Irish friars a house at their own expense. At the request of the Irish friars, they also accepted spiritual patronage and thus gained the title *parentes spirituales*.[24]

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In the spring of 1631, Fleming began to negotiate with the owners of houses around the derelict Monastery of St. Ambrose over the purchase of their real estate. On 4 April, the first one was acquired for 126,000 Meissen groschen, the house of Kateřina Čejková, née Chotouchovská of Nebovidy, in which there had at one time been a forge.[25] From 1631 to 1634, the Irish friars bought up ten houses which were adjacent to the allocated space on which there was only rubbish.[26] The whole enterprise was supported by the highest circles and gained the Irish friars very little sympathy from the inhabitants of Prague. Particularly in the effort to acquire the house of the Mladá Boleslav's Royal Magistrate, Jakub Hubáček, the Royal officials acted unscrupulously and "in the name of the king" finally forced the owner to concede in 1634.[27]

From Fleming's pen we learn of the gradual "operation" of the Franciscan college on the building side and also of the general spiritual functioning of the community.

However, Fleming's first letter from Prague, which has been preserved, is dated 12 April 1631. Surprisingly, in this, Fleming mentions mainly the difficulties he has with the construction of the library. Among other things, he informs Robert Rochford, lector in philosophy at St. Anthony's College in Louvain that books are both scarce and expensive in Prague. In the three towns of Prague, it was apparently possible to visit only one or, at most, two booksellers. In time, this would evidently lead to him having books brought from Frankfurt.[28]

In the spring, construction was already in full flow. In the middle of May, the Irish friars appealed to the Count of Martinice, as the President of the Bohemian Chancellery, for building materials, in particular wood and planks.[29] On 7 June, Fleming informed Fallon, among other things, that a choir for thirty people had been built, plus a small chapel which stood on the site of the former forge.[30] Fleming's description of the site of the college, possibly from the summer of the same year, has been preserved.[31] A shortened version of this below gives the general impression.

The college lay near the future archiepiscopal seminary, outside the Old Town Gate on the road to Vienna, which also passed through the New Town Gate. It was where several roads met. One side of the road was continuously built up, the other side was undeveloped. At the time of origin of the report, the Irish friars had acquired four of the wooden houses, with gardens extending between them. Not far (*"duodecim circiter passus"*) from the house was the town's water main, from which it was quite easy to run a branch pipe to the college. The houses provided accommodation for about twenty friars, not counting another house in the neighbourhood which the Irish were only just thinking about acquiring. The refectory could hold

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thirty people, the choir above the small chapel many more. The sacristy was equipped with iron gates and contained a stove (*fornax*). The school, which had previously served as a stable, was far enough away from the street and lay on the side of the larger gate and was to be open during disputations. Behind the school was a garden, from which the friars already expected a crop of nuts and other produce that year. Inside, there was also a deep well with excellent water and two cellars.

On the same day that Fleming wrote Fallon the above-mentioned letter, in which he also announced his decision that he would begin begging for alms,[32] Archbishop Harrach permitted him, Gerald Geraldin and Patrick Taaffe to say fifty-five Masses at a portable altar in the newly constructed residence in the New Town.[33] Monastic life began to regularise itself. 6 June was the celebration of the inauguration of the new college, which must already have been consecrated to the Virgin Mary (the College of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary by St. Ambrose).[34] In late June and early July, First Masses were said by newly ordained priests with the Burgrave of Prague and Archbishop Harrach in attendance.[35] On 6 June, on the occasion of the start of tuition in the archiepiscopal seminary, Cardinal Harrach and representatives of state authorities joined the Mass at the college. It was explained in a Latin sermon why the Irish Franciscans had come to Prague and people were encouraged to give alms. How many friars there were at that time is not known but various references indicate that there were probably less than ten. Besides Fleming, Fitzgerald and Taaffe, Matthew Hore and Francis Magennis are known by name.

The actual institutionalisation of the college is documented by a seal bearing the date 1631, which is preserved in the Seal Collection in the National Archives. Around it is written: * SIG: [ILLUM] COLL:[EGII] PRAG: [ENSIS] IM.[MACULATAE] CONCEP.[TIONIS] AD S. [ANCTUM] AMBRO. [SIUM] FF[RATRUM] MIN:[ORUM] STRICT.[IORIS] OBS: [ERVANTIAE] PROV: [INCIAE] HIBERNIAE (The seal of the College of the Immaculate Conception by St. Ambrose of the Friars Minor of the Stricter Observance of the Irish Province) (Fig. 11).[36]

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Fig. 11 The Prague college's seal matrix of 1631 (NA).

The promising beginnings of the college, however, were plagued by new difficulties almost from day to day. Shortly after Patrick Fleming had left for Vienna[37] at the beginning of August, a dispute arose over the site of the newly constructed college. That is to say, on 20 August, the Prague Capuchins – whose relations with the Irish friars had been very good up until that point, as evidenced by their help with the portable altar and by the Masses they had said in the Irish Franciscan chapel – sent a complaint in which they laid claim to the site which already belonged to the Irish college.[38] The situation was rather difficult for the Irish and their disenchantment and indignation great, particularly perhaps because it happened in the absence of Patrick Fleming. Gerald Geraldin and Matthew Hore informed not only Fleming but also Luke Wadding, who had already received the news unofficially from his relative, the Jesuit, Peter Wadding, who was living in Prague at the time. The latter praised the Irish friars, saying that they were doing well in Prague and had a good reputation, only the Capuchins were causing them problems.[39]

Here it must be pointed out that the dispute over the site of the college had been going on since the very beginning. The Capuchins too had chosen a site near the Irish Franciscan college

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for the establishment of the Friary of St. Joseph. Therefore, in 1631, the guardian of the friary in Hradčany, Alexius Burgund, protested to Cardinal Harrach against the building of the Franciscan house. In the complaint, Burgund referred to the discussions of the previous year.[40] Although we know that Fallon had chosen the site for the college immediately after his arrival from Vienna, where he had gained the Emperor's permission, that is, in late 1629 and early 1630, and that his intention probably preceded the Capuchins' plans, Fallon only began to buy up the houses in 1631. Therefore, from the outset, it was not easy to induce the Capuchins, who did not like to be next to another friary, to concede.

When Patrick Fleming learnt what had happened in Prague, he sent letters to Robert Chamberlain in St. Anthony's College in Louvain and Luke Wadding in St. Isidore's College in Rome, while at the same time initiating diplomatic activity at court. There, of course, he found himself among a number of other supplicants and was forced into lobbying. The interests of the senior representatives of other orders, who were only concerned about minor details and far removed from both the distant reality in newly re-Catholicised Prague and the persecution of Catholics in Ireland, is nicely illustrated by the incident described by Fleming in his letter to Robert Chamberlain. Fleming met in Rome with the vicar general of the Ambrosians, who in pre-Hussite times had built their Monastery and Church of St. Ambrose on the site of the Irish college,[41] and had a verbal battle with him over how to commemorate the former Church of St. Ambrose in the name of the college. Besides this, Fleming discovered that he was not welcomed everywhere with open arms: he was even criticised by the ill-informed Austrian Franciscans, led by their provincial, Prosper Galbiato.[42] Therefore, using additional documents, he put together a concise account of how the college had been approved, founded and established in practice in Prague and sent it to Louvain.[43] He then appealed to Luke Wadding to intercede with the Bishop of Rome himself.[44]

The correspondence offers us a look into high Church and state politics through the eyes of an educated Catholic priest defending his people and his faith, whose fate, however, was to assert the interests of one monastic institution, one which, from the viewpoint of local political and power interests, if it was not unimportant was at least not too significant. In terms of their missionary work, the Irish friars had their own country primarily in mind, were led by their own political interests and absorbed in the fate of their own nation. They now suddenly found themselves in the middle of a maelstrom for them unknown and essentially remote, a struggle in a faraway country. In addition, it seems, they found themselves caught between two Catholic

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sides. Archbishop Harrach, supported by the perceptive intellect of his confessor, the Capuchin, Valeriano Magni, and no doubt significantly influenced by his advice, attempted to assert the supremacy of the Bohemian Church in the question of re-Catholicisation.[45] He was supported in this by the older orders which had been active in Bohemia for centuries, especially the Premonstratensians, Cistercians, Dominicans and Franciscans. On the other side was the coalition of the Jesuits with the ruling house and their attempt to make the process of re-Catholicisation subordinate to state control. It was based on the circle of Romano-German nobility, newly settled in Bohemia, and around it the community establishing itself from the ranks of the victorious Imperial side. The attempt by the Jesuits to attain supremacy in questions of theology by gaining a dominant position in higher education in Prague met with the opposition of Archbishop Harrach. Conversely, attempts by the archbishop for a plurality of theological interpretation were rejected. The primary dispute, however, was over, in today's terms, the "technology" of re-Catholicisation, that is, how and under whose authority it would be accomplished.[46]

So how would the Irish Franciscans have felt in Prague? They exploited the condescension of the Emperor, who had demonstrated his willingness to take the endangered Catholics under his protection and to whom they were indebted for permission to settle in Prague, and at the same time the support of the Cardinal, who saw in them theologians and teachers famed abroad and, as such, intended to exploit them for his own conception of re-Catholicisation. Thus, they found themselves somewhere in the middle, led by a strenuous endeavour to build an adequate base for religious exiles and reverse conditions in their homeland through missionary work and the training of clergy, and did not even notice that they had become a pawn in a game which was only marginally related to them. Patrick Taaffe expressed, albeit somewhat later, the position of the Irish Franciscans among the political currents in the Bohemian Church in one of his letters to Luke Wadding: *"I protest bee fore God, quod non simus Petri, nec Pauli; non Joannis nec Jacobi, sed solius Christi. . ."*.[47]

If we consider their political and in the long run even missionary objectives in the Bohemian Crown Lands, from this point of view they were in fact modest. As soon as the Irish, in an attempt to found another college (Namslav in Silesia), encroached on the territory of the Bohemian Franciscan province, they were plainly, without hesitation or sentiment, given to realise by their otherwise welcoming and hospitable colleagues that they were overstepping their authority. Although they in no way neglected their spiritual responsibilities, they were never (and could never be) in fact given charge of a parish in the Bohemian Crown Lands. But even

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their role, providing primarily for the spiritual needs of the above-mentioned Romano-German community and, sooner or later, also of the gradually settling members of the Irish nobility and clearly also of students and the intelligentsia (because it was all of these who primarily provided the Franciscans with an income within the three towns of Prague, as the Irish friars were only permitted to beg for alms outside Prague), was essentially a luxury, especially from the viewpoint of a parish network with inadequate personnel.

The only missionary we know from the sources is the Irish Franciscan, Hugh (surname unknown), although we do not know exactly what his relationship with the Prague college was. In July 1635, Pope Urban VIII granted him fairly extensive powers to carry out missionary activity in Bohemia. He could confess the faithful where there was no parish priest, bishop or other person allowed to hear confessions; he could grant absolution for heresy, apostasy or schism; once grant absolution for all sins reserved by the papal bull, *Coena Domini*, to the Holy See, and for simony, if the penitents were prepared to relinquish their benefices and reimburse their emoluments; also he had permission to read heretical and forbidden books in order to refute heretical opinions; he could say Mass at a portable, damaged or desecrated altar even in the presence of those excommunicated; he could change simple vows, give dispensations against impediments of the ordained arising from secret crimes which had not been brought before the court apart from murder, simony and bigamy, and, under precisely stipulated conditions, grant full and partial indulgences.

In order to have a clearer picture of the situation of the Irish Franciscans, we must again remember their friendly contacts with the above-mentioned Jesuit, Peter Wadding. He was for them, as they were for him, a fighter in a common cause and one of the few links with the homeland. Peter Wadding's relationship with the "long monk," as the Capuchin, Valeriano Magni, was nicknamed, was extremely tense, all the more so because Wadding was the first dean of the theological faculty and later acted as chancellor of the university.[48] In addition, he enjoyed writing replies to all kinds of anti-Jesuit pamphlets and Philippics.[49] For Magni, who never missed an opportunity to attack the Jesuits, Wadding was thus the embodiment of everything that he so sincerely hated. This almost irrational aspect of Magni's character is entirely consistent with other somewhat effusive sides of his approach to the world.[50]

For that matter, Wadding made no secret of what he thought of Valeriano Magni. If we may be permitted to express it thusly, in his letter to his relative, Luke, at St. Isidore's College in Rome, in which he refers to the Capuchin, overflows with insular irony: "*I doe helpe them* [the Irish Franciscans] *the best that I can, but that troublesom Capucin hath a strange hedde, and*

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gouverneth the cardinal, and as you knowe your selfe persuadeth mannie in the Court of Roome what he wil. He denieth to have anny part in this busins against the friars of our nation. I doe believe that the good father hath good intentions in this busins, but the pure trueth is, that he disgousteth the hole kindome, the nobilitie, the clergie, and the Emperour's courte. He calleth himself missionarius Apostolicus, and doeth nothinge in the conversion of soules, and al his reformation is to founde the cardinal his iurisdiction, with displeasure of al the world."[51]

So perhaps Fleming did not even suspect why a seemingly petty squabble had begun over a plot of land, which six months before had been strewn with piles of rubbish and ruins, and that he had been drawn into a Bohemian game which would last for many years. He succeeded in writing a defence of the Prague college in which, against a broad historical perspective, he justified its existence, describing its foundation and enumerating all the authorities who had given their permission (the Emperor, the general of the order, the papal nuncio, the Archbishop of Prague and the commissary general), giving reasons why it should be separated from other houses and explaining why the other orders in Prague need not fear it for reasons of exceeding their jurisdiction or competition.[52]

Fleming himself, however, did not live to see further moves in the game. Soon after he had returned to Prague, he set out again for Vienna, accompanied by a deacon, Matthew Hore.[53] His mission in Vienna was to agree upon the conditions for the arrival of the remaining friars from the college, who had decided to leave Prague ahead of the advancing Saxon army. On 7 November 1631, Fleming and Hore were attacked by enraged villagers near Benešov by the village of Oleška. Fleming was killed on the spot by three blows to the head and his robbed body left lying on the royal highway, where it was later found.[54] The villagers dragged Hore off into the forest where they shot him three times in the chest, while at the same time stabbing him with a lance.[55] It is difficult to say whether the villagers were motivated by religious fanaticism, as Bruodin maintains,[56] or by the latent mob violence which had come to the surface in the difficult war years, or whether it was, perhaps, robbery. The truth, as usual, clearly lies somewhere in the middle. That the villagers were not acting solely for reasons of denominational intolerance is evidenced in part by the fact that the corpse was robbed, and in part by a comment made by Bruodin himself, referring to the bands of robbers wreaking havoc in the countryside using the Czech expression *"Petrovští,"*[57] while at the same time, for reasons of religious propaganda, adding the attribute *"Husitští pobudové,"* that is, "Hussite vagabonds."[58]

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Fleming's body was found by Maria, Countess of Šternberk, and brought with that of his companion to Votice, where the earthly remains of the first guardian of the Irish Franciscan college were buried in the friary church of the Bohemian Franciscan province. The second Irishman, Matthew Hore, was laid to rest beside him on 12 November.[59]

No later than 18 November, the remainder of the college took refuge in Vienna. The Austrian Franciscans took a decidedly reserved attitude to their fellow Irish brothers, while at the same time the provincial gave them to understand who was in charge.[60] At the end of May 1632, however, the Imperial General Valdštejn drove the Saxons out of Prague and the Irish were immediately able to return.[61] Gerald Geraldin, who was, it seems, along with Patrick Taaffe, the only one still in correspondence with Rome and Louvain, in his letters to Luke Wadding refers to the military situation in Central Europe – the fear of another political and, consequently, religious upheaval was ever-present.

It seemed that the initial success of the Irish Franciscans in Prague was to be short-lived. They had never sought a place in the struggle between the Bohemian political parties and when the shadow of the Saxon invasion, during which their first guardian died, fell over them, all seemed lost. There was, too, the still unresolved question of whose authority the Prague college would come under. Louvain had an opinion entirely different from that of the general chapter. Until it was decided, as mentioned above, at the general chapter in Toledo in 1633, the College of the Immaculate Conception was placed under the control of the vicar general, who was not supposed to hinder or otherwise limit its activity.[62]

Anyone who supposed that the death of Patrick Fleming and the exile and then return to Prague of the members of the college had settled the dispute of the Irish Franciscans with the Capuchins would be greatly mistaken. Guided by their original intention to build a friary in close proximity to the Irish (as Gerald Geraldin writes in one of his letters: *"they have bought a place in our doore"*[63]) and expel them from the place, they initiated another instalment of the squabble. Following a complaint by the guardian of the Capuchins, Alexius Burgund, to Cardinal Harrach,[64] the Irish friars countered with two petitions to the papal nuncio in Vienna, Cyriaco Rocci,[65] but he froze the restoration of the college until the general chapter of the order was able to adjudicate.[66] Shocked by the strictest sanctions (excommunication) under which the prospective completion of the rebuilding was forbidden, in a series of petitionary letters the Irish turned to the influential Luke Wadding at St. Isidore's College in Rome. Wadding himself had for some time been inundating the Emperor, the Queen of Hungary[67] and wife of Ferdinand II,

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Eleonora of Mantua, Archbishop Harrach and the nuncio with letters of intercession.[68] The college was gripped by uncertainty because the chapter taking place in Toledo was too far away to be influenced by the Irish Franciscans or to obtain information adequate in quality and quantity. Gerald Geraldin wrote to Wadding: *"Our adversaries doe prepare themsealves against the Chapter General, and our fathers are a slipe; so that I cannot understand what they intend to doe; if I doe send them papers, I know wel that that wil not bee of such efficacie as if I had beene mesealf present, who knows the state of all the buisness ffrom beginnge, in this yor R. may admonish me what is to be don."*[69] On the other hand, support emerged in the guise of Archbishop Harrach, who demonstrated this by requesting the Irish Franciscans provide a lector in theology and a lector in philosophy for the archiepiscopal seminary, then under construction.[70] Not even the leadership of the Louvain college would accept that the College of the Immaculate Conception should meet an unpleasant fate, because reinforcements were soon to be sent from Louvain to the Prague college.[71]

Following the general chapter in Toledo, the minister general of the Franciscans of the Stricter Observance confirmed the foundation of the Prague college, whose construction had already begun, and in the text of the document expressly stated that it was to be completed. The minister general also took the college directly under his jurisdiction, at the same time appointing a special delegate to supervise, with the power and authority of a commissary general.[72]

With this, the situation quieted down somewhat, so that nothing prevented the Irish from entering their most famous period in Bohemia, that is, when they taught at the archiepiscopal seminary. As we know, of course, the Capuchins eventually built themselves the Friary of St. Joseph in the neighbourhood of the Irish Franciscans.

THE COLLEGE STATUTES: A VIEW OF THE HOUSEHOLD

What was life actually like inside the Prague college and according to what regulations was the community organised? Life in a religious house has always been considered as something very private, while at the same time a breach of the isolation within its walls by outside observers has aroused the promising, yet frequently unconfirmed, prospect of the revelation of scandal. Only rarely has the actual spiritual disposition of the conventuals and their personal attitudes been captured, and when they have been forced to publicly reveal their spiritual routines, it has

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usually been during a canonical visitation. Seeking answers to these questions is, in the case of the Irish college, all the more difficult in that we do not actually have at our disposal any original sources which would enable us to answer them adequately. Consequently, our look through the keyhole at the "household" in the early years of the college will have, in contrast to the later period, a rather official tone and will mainly be concerned with the structure of the community.

However, let us begin with the number of members of the college. Following the deaths of Patrick Fleming and Matthew Hore, Gerald Geraldin became guardian and, with several others, was the first to return to Prague. Delayed by illness, Patrick Taaffe followed him from Vienna a little later, accompanied by a confrère,[73] so that in the first half of November 1632, the Prague college consisted of a mere half dozen people.[74] In the middle of the following year, Francis Farrell Fr. Aspol and a German lay brother arrived in Prague[75] and, from that time, the number of friars rose constantly, as we are informed, not only by the survey in Hammerschmid's *Prodromus*,[76] but also by the letter sent a year later, that is, in June 1634, by Francis Farrell to Luke Wadding. From 1632, the members of the college had tripled to eighteen.[77]

According to some descriptions, less than twenty-five years after its foundation the college already had seventy members, but it would be a mistake to ascribe this increase only to the growing persecution in Ireland.[78] In 1653, the Irish Franciscans had to leave the friary in Wieluń and some of them made their way to Prague. Registers from the years 1653 to 1654 show us that there were more than fifty friars in the Prague college at that time. Even so, this was quite a considerable number and the only reliable solution for the relief of the overcrowded college was to found a new one. This should have been Namslav in Silesia (now Namysłów, east of Wrocław in Poland). A Franciscan friary had been founded in Namslav in 1321. After the order was divided into the Friars Minor Conventuals (Minorites) and the Friars Minor of the Stricter Observance (Franciscans), it fell to the Franciscans of the Bohemian province. Shortly afterwards, however, in 1536, during the period of Reformation conflict, the friars had to leave Namslav and the empty friary became a hospital. It was restored to its former status in 1675.[79]

The Irish attempts were merely an episode which foundered on the opposition of the superiors of the Bohemian Franciscan province, who regarded the fact that the Irish would occupy one of their former friaries as a very unpleasant precedent with possible repercussions in the future. In addition, the Irish had avoided discussions with the Bohemian superiors over permission for a new foundation within the Bohemian province. In October 1653, the provincial,

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Konstantin Dubský, appealed to Luke Wadding to discourage his confrères from damaging the Bohemian province and, at the same time, turned to the Silesian provincial authorities (*suprema curia ducatus Silesiae*) in order to provoke a suitably negative attitude to the Irish. He wrote that the friars had not mastered the native tongue, so that they would not be able to preach or hear confessions, and also that *"the way that they conduct themselves is not in accord with this locality and, apart from their ineffectiveness, they would cause problems with non-Catholics."*

In the end, admittedly, the Irish received permission for a new foundation from the Emperor, but under the condition that in the college there would be several German priests or at least ones fluent in German, who would devote themselves to spiritual administration. Perhaps because of this condition (particularly when the Irish clearly intended to found another college to train missionaries and not a friary for pastoral work among the local inhabitants) and also because of further opposition in the Bohemian province, the Irish relinquished their plans to establish themselves in Namslav.[80]

Let us, however, return from the Silesian countryside to the Prague college. The basic norms for the Franciscan Order were represented by the general constitution and statutes, decreed by the general of the order and the general chapter.[81] From these, then, came the statutes of individual provinces, whose publication was under the supervision of the provincials.[82]

Friars were divided into priests (*patres*), clerics (*fratres*) and lay brothers (*laici*). Individual friars were then assigned to their roles; some acted as preachers (*concionatores*, *predicatores*), others as confessors (*confesores*). For the Prague college, teaching was especially important. Tuition was in the hands of lectors in philosophy and theology.

How the internal precepts of life in the college actually worked we can learn from the college statutes.[83] Unfortunately, only one authenticated specimen from 1744 has been preserved, but, nevertheless, we can determine at least approximately their original form because a note is appended, showing that it is in fact the wording from 1665 (Fig. 12).[84] All of the articles deleted in 1774 were crosshatched on the original, which means that they were no longer valid. According to the postscript, it was a version from 1665 which had been preserved in the college for many years before that. There is no doubt, therefore, that this is the first code of conduct which had regulated life in the college from the very beginning. The statutes contained fifteen articles. They were to be read aloud at the beginning of January, April, July and October, and then the general statutes in May and November.

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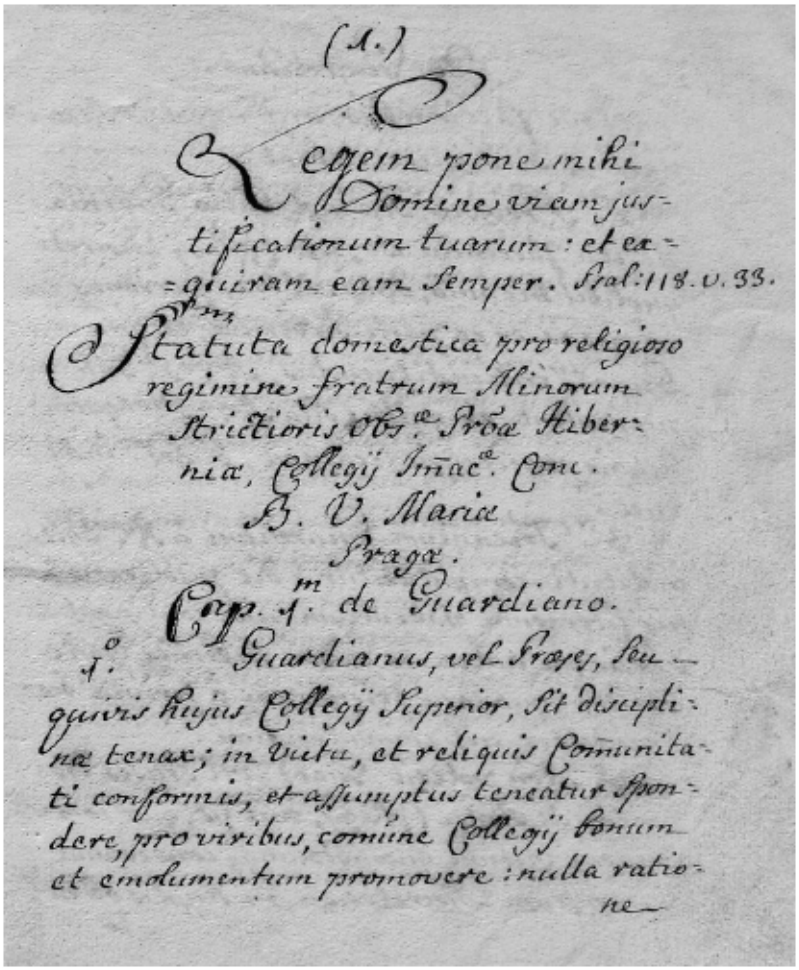
(1.)

Legem pone mihi
Domine viam jus-
tificationum tuarum: et ex-
=quiram eam semper. Psal: 118. v. 33.

Statuta domestica pro religioso
regimine fratrum Minorum
Strictioris Obs.ae Provae Hiber-
niae, Collegij Imac.ae Com.
B. V. Mariae
Pragae.

Cap.m 1.m de Guardiano.

1.o Guardianus, vel Praeses, seu
quivis hujus Collegij Superior, sit disciplinae tenax; in vita, et reliquis Communitati conformis, et assumptus teneatur spondere, pro viribus, comune Collegij bonum et emolumentum promovere: nulla ratione

Fig. 12 The first page of the college statutes of 1655 (NA).

The head of the college was the guardian (*guardianus*). He had to be of indisputable morality and of appropriate age, experience and ability, that is, he had to be at least thirty years old and to have been at the very least ten years in the order. He was selected by the discreets who, every three years, chose two or three suitable persons who came from the particular province of Ireland[85] from which the new guardian was to be selected. Candidates were then presented to the general of the order, who then appointed one of them guardian. It is noteworthy how much emphasis was laid on the rotation of guardians from the individual provinces of Ireland. It speaks eloquently of the jealousy which held sway inside the community and doubtless, too, of dissension, for only these could cause this article to have been incorporated into the text.

The three-year tenure of the guardian began the day the "literarum patentium" was published. When the office of guardian was vacant for various reasons (for instance, the guardian had not yet been elected, or had unexpectedly died, etc.), the praeses supplied a guardian. Unfortunately, the competences of the praeses were not clarified in the Prague copy of the statutes. If the new guardian came from the same province of Ireland as the praeses, his office began the day the praeses had begun to supply.[86] Otherwise, the three-year tenure began

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the day the praeses took office. In the exercise of his authority, at least in the most important respects, the guardian was monitored by the discreets. Without their written consent, he was not allowed to make a decision regarding the state of the college, accept or expel members, make unusual payments or demolish the building. If he overstepped his authority in these matters, he was suspended. He was also threatened with punishment if he did not promulgate in good time the edicts of his superiors, or even kept them secret.

The guardian enjoyed no special privileges. Like the praeses or any other friar, he could not, under any pretext, accept donations for himself, because, like everything else, these became the property of the community. This concerned books and other items, even if he had obtained them himself. He did not have separate meals; even if he was ill, he was not allowed to eat in his own cell, or even in the cell of another friar. If the guardian was seriously ill and had not recovered after three days, he was placed in the communal infirmary and treated there like any other friar. In short, he had to adhere to all aspects of communal life.

The discreets saw to it that the guardian properly managed the resources which served the collective life of the community and if he exhibited shortcomings, he was reprimanded and if he did not improve, he was relieved of his position. On the other hand, it was the guardian's responsibility to regularly determine whether the friars were obtaining superfluous items and if he found this to be the case, these were used for the community or given to those who needed them. If such a friar was thus found to have broken his vow of poverty, he was punished. On the other hand, the guardian had to ensure that the friar had whatever essential items he lacked.

The college was respected as an institution with its own way of life and its private problems, which is evidenced by the article which forbad a commissary who was temporarily managing the college from becoming involved with the affairs of the guardianate and the other offices of college administration. In the same way, a commissary was not allowed to interfere in the private affairs of the superiors; at most, he could support them. Neither could he make any changes in the important affairs of the college without consultation with the guardian.

The choice of candidates for commissary visitator (*commisarius visitator*) fell within the jurisdiction of the guardian and discreets, but the final decision lay in the hands of the general of the order.

In the guardian's absence, he was deputised by the vicar, who was appointed either by the chapter or the provincial.[87]

As mentioned above, the guardian had, also in order to correct his own decisions, an advisory council (*discretorium*) of which he himself was a member. The council consisted of

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discreets (*discretes*). The function of a discreet could only be taken by lectors in theology and that meant those who actually lectured as *"jubilati"* (see below). Besides the guardian, there were to be four older (*seniores*) lectors from the four provinces of Ireland; they were discreets *ipso facto.* They were joined by another four, again from the four provinces to maintain proportionality.

The discreets occupied a key position in the internal life of the college. This was because, in colleges lying outside their own province, the private judgement of a single person, however scrupulous, did not seem sufficiently safe. Individual discreets had both the right to advise and the right to make decisions. Anyone who did not seek their mandatory agreement and thus circumvented them thereby acted not only without permission but also without validity.

Discreets assisted the guardian with advice and supervision and informed him of the state of affairs of the college, not just once a year but more often in urgent cases. Without their written consent (or rather, majority consent), the guardian could not do anything of consequence related to the administration of the college. This consent was entered *"in libro conventus,"* the book where everything connected with the administration of the college was recorded, from changes in it, through the decrees of the superiors, the names of the friars, to accounts of preaching missions and other activities.

The consent of the discreets was required for the appointment or removal of college officials, changes in food or dress, in the studies and ceremonies prescribed in the regulations of the order or province, also for building alterations to the college, expenditure, debts, taxes, more serious and unusual punishment of the friars, all disrespect to the will of the superiors (when it was not possible to appeal to them) and cases requiring investigation. Once a month, in the presence of the discreets, there was an accounting of alms and expenditure, which was confirmed as correct by the discreets' signatures, but if a discrepancy was found, a protocol would be drawn up.

The college statutes also contained several articles concerning the discreets' approach to resolving problems. The most interesting of these is the one which exhorts them to reticence towards the other friars in matters of secrecy, and for these things to be resolved in the council chamber. If someone did betray a secret, they were, but with the support of two witnesses, to be reported to the guardian.

As is clear from very varied references, the teaching by the lectors was highly praised. The fact that the lectors were appointed by the general of the order confirms the importance attached to teaching. If possible, lectors were alumni of the college. Altogether, there were eight lectors:

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four taught scholastic theology and two always taught ethics and two philosophy. Even among lectors, the principle of proportionality was to be maintained with regard to the four provinces of Ireland, so each province had one teacher of scholastics and one teacher of either ethics or philosophy. In the system of scholarship, philosophy was traditionally subordinated to theology (*philosophia ancilla theologiae*), so that they began to gain experience by teaching philosophy initially and if they were to lecture in theology, they first had to pass a two-year course. Even so, they still had to wait until the position of lector became vacant. Lectors in theology who had taught for twelve years gained the "title" or position of *lector jubilatus*.[88]

The statutes enjoined the lectors to lecture without unnecessary aberrations; theology from the Scriptures, the Acts of the Apostles and Ecclesiastes, and more rarely they were allowed to introduce *"rationibus metaphysicis et Aristotelicis."* Twice a year, each lector had to participate in a public disputation with a published thesis. When teaching, they were to avoid exotic, singular and strange assumptions and the admixture of unorthodox opinions. Lectors could choose their own method, but when teaching they had to honour John Duns Scotus, called *doctor subtilis*; if they did not do so, they were relieved of their lectorate. All lectors, without exception, had to participate in each others' disputations, whether in public or in private. In terms of routine, lectors in theology lectured in morality and casuistry three times a week.[89] On Sundays and holy days, there were disputations *"de controversiis fidei,"* that is, polemics.

In contrast to that, students had to comply with the timetable of study, not go out without permission and, in all other respects, behave according to the Rule, as it is for that matter to the present day.

Once a week, there was a two-hour disputation. The day before, students had to present their thesis to the guardian and the lectors, who were in this way invited to attend. The printed thesis were subject to the approval of the guardian and the discreets. Anyone who was to defend their thesis publicly was exempted from choir duty with the exception of first- and second-class holy days. A student who spoke without the invitation of a lector was subjected to a punishment which was, from today's viewpoint, rather humiliating; that is, during the next meal, he had to hold a stick in his mouth and apologise to the community on his knees.

Every three months, the guardian determined the progress and discipline of the students and, in the presence of the discreets, accordingly reprimanded or encouraged them. Students who did not have a twice yearly exhortation (the statutes do not explain in detail what this term covers, but it was clearly an address on a given theme), which it was the custom of the college for the guardian to prescribe, were deprived of all privileges and exemptions.

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The statutes make it clearer to us how members of the college were accepted and discharged. Before teaching began on the philosophy course, the guardian, with the help of the discreets, reported in writing to the provincial on the state of the college and if there were no local aspirants, the provincial sent the required number of new students. The number of friars in the college was, however, set by the council and, if possible, at the beginning of a new guardian' s three-year term of office.

When a friar arrived at the college, first his order, age, name, surname and the friary he came from were established. The guardian entered these data in the archive. Those arriving from Ireland were prepared for a year by the master of novices.

Those who were returning to Ireland as missionaries were trained for two months in casuistry, preaching and "*fidei controversiis.*"

It is clear that teaching was the most important activity in the college. This is evidenced by the amount of space it is given in the statutes. This is understandable because from other comments it is clear that students were by no means only friars. The Prague college also served as an educational establishment for Irish Catholic youth, though the considerable remoteness of Prague from Ireland is perhaps why the number of secular students was not very high.

Besides lectors and students in the college, there were also other positions. There was the novice master (*magister novitiorum*), who was responsible for the preparation and guidance of novices, then the sacristan, who was responsible for the running of the church, including (pious and respectful) dealings with people and the management of the books in which Masses were recorded. One of the friars also acted as gatekeeper (*ostiarius*).

An important position was also occupied by the prefect of the infirmary or hospital. He had to have pharmaceutical training and to supervise the college pharmacy, which he stocked with preparations for mixing medicines according to a doctor's prescription. Patients were subjected to a rather strict regime. The statutes forbad them to ask for a change of food or clothing. This formulation suggests that illness was considered rather as a weakness. Apart from the *pater spiritualis* and the doctor, no secular person or stranger could enter the infirmary. The friars' access was also limited; they were allowed to visit a patient only in twos and at a certain time.

Besides articles relating to divine worship and contemplation, and, if need be, the observance of silence, with regard to individual friars the college statutes understandably also covered other aspects of daily life. These concerned domestic discipline; for example, the borrowing of books, meal times and the readings during them, spiritual exercises and also the friars' clothing. Here, we should mention the article that stipulated that no-one was permitted to

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have two habits or two tunics in his cell, and that winter clothing was returned in May and stored away, and issued again in October for the winter.

It is understandable that the norms also covered contact with the outside. This concerned not only visitors to the college but also in particular dealings with people from the outside world. Students (clearly those who were not friars) and the poor, who might be in the college to assist the friars, could attend to minor matters in the city, though too much "*familiaritas*" was forbidden. If someone was applying to join the order, he was not to live there long before being dressed in the habit of the order. There is also an interesting article which forbad any unfavourable talk about other nations, provinces or families.[90]

It was within the framework of the college statutes, then, that the members of the community of the College of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in Prague's New Town lived in the early years of this house of the order and doubtless, in a modified form, in subsequent decades, too. It is clear that many members infringed the principles of communal life and that what has been preserved for us is only the form of the ideal. The confrontation of the ideal and the real is provided only by the record of the apostolic canonical visitation carried out after approximately one hundred years of the college's existence.

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1 The content of this part is based mainly on the quoted work by Benignus Millett which represents an important contribution to the interpretation of the Irish Franciscan sources of the seventeenth century.

2 NA, ŘHyb Praha, no. 113, 3.3.1673. Bernard Kelly, the provincial of the Irish Province, sent a priest, Anthony Flynn, and a cleric teacher, Francis Hanly to the Prague college. The place of publication is not known. It is only stated that it is "a place of our refuge" (*datum loco nostri refugii*). The provincial, Kelly, wanted to avoid betrayal in case the letter issued by him fell into the hands of the English authorities.

3 For the period when colleges were founded, see Mary Ann Lyons, "The role of St Anthony's College, Louvain in establishing the Irish Franciscan college network, 1607–60," *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990*, eds. E. Bhreathnach, H. MacMahon, OFM and J. McCafferty (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009) 77–84. Older literature was reprinted in *Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, His Associates and St Anthony's College, Louvain*, ed. Nollaig Ó Muraíle (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008).

4 Raymond Gillespie, "The Irish Franciscans, 1600–1700," *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990*, 45–76.

5 Joseph MacMahon OFM, "The silent century, 1698–1829," *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990*, 77–84.

6 Severin Vrbčanský, *Nucleus minoriticus*, Vetero-Pragae 1746. SK, section Hořovice, ref. no. KI 1006, 312.

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7 The image of Fallon walking without shoes in the snow seems to us to be exaggerated and it is possible to attribute it to the fabulation skills of Anthony Bruodin, whose *Propugnaculum* translated by Sousedík is our source of information. It is probably true that Fallon travelled in sandals.

8 Malachy Fallon also used the surname Hanlan, see *IFD*, 173.

9 See the translation by S. Sousedík from Bruodin's *Propugnaculum* in Stanislav Sousedík, *Jan Duns Scotus. Doctor subtilis a jeho čeští žáci* [John Duns Scotus. Doctor Subtilis and His Bohemian Pupils] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1989) 320.

10 For instance, the fates of Irish military units during their march on Prague under Bucquoy's command were described by their chaplain Henry Fitzsimon, see Josef Polišenský, *Tisíciletá Praha očima cizinců* [*The Thousand-Year History of Prague through the Eyes of Foreigners*] (Praha: Academia, 1999) 63.

11 NA, APA, ref. no. C 119/2, carton no. 2100.

12 The name of the other Irishman who was ordained in 1628 is recorded by Dr. Kukánová as "Offiaei" so it is not clear what the surname was (probably O'Finn with a Latin ending); Latinised forms of the names in the book of ordinations were, however, often bizarre, as well as the Czech (for example, the Irish surname Lynch was recorded in the form of "Lynže"!).

13 See Benignus Millett, The Irish Franciscans 1651–1665 (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1964) 245–248. The author also mentions that B. Jennings calls Bruodin "a first-class propagandist." The translation of the passage from Bruodin's *Propugnaculum* was by Sousedík, *Jan Duns Scotus*, 319ff.

14 *IFD*, no. 4, 176–177.

15 "Crastino die, Deo favente, proficiscimur Pragam, ut videamus statum loci, et aliquot ova colligamus pro Paschate."

16 NA, ŘHyb Praha, no. 2, 18.4.1629, Praha. Cardinal Harrach, Archbishop of Prague, consents to the settlement of the Irish Franciscans.

17 A considerably damaged original is stored in NA, L 2, ŘH sv. Ambrož, no. 2, 19.11.1629, Wien: three copies are available there as well. NA, ŘHyb Praha, nos. 3, 4 and 5; the first edition was provided by Vigilius Greiderer, *Germania franciscana, seu chronicon geographo-historicum ordinis S. P. Francisci in Germania. Tomus I.*, Oeniponte 1777, 786. It is based on various sources (among others, by comparison with the no longer extant description of the history of the Prague college cited by the editor – *Monum. Collegii Pragens. Franciscan Hibernorum* – which, however, was probably not a masterwork of its kind, as is evidenced by the incorrect dating of the founding charter). For the last, not quite correct, edition of the copies, see *IFD*, no. 8, 179–180.

18 *IFD*, no. 9, 180–181.

19 *IFD*, no. 10, 13.11.1630, 181. It was understandably the commissary *pro natio Germano-Belgica*.

20 Sousedík, *Jan Duns Scotus*, 322.

21 He came from the family of the Barons of Slane, see *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 6 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909) and Richard J. Kelly, "The Irish Franciscans in Prague (1629–1786): Their literary labours," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 52 (1922): 169ff.

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22 Sousedík, *Jan Duns Scotus*, 322.

23 Bruodin states that Hoff-Huerta was the supreme commander of the guard, as does Jan Florian Hammerschmid, *Prodromus gloriae Pragenae*, Vetero-Pragae 1717, 300.

24 It was the position of apostolic syndic, for which the above-mentioned term "pater" or "parens spiritualis (or *geistlicher Vater*) was used in Bohemia, see Anthony Bruodin, *Corolla oecodomiae . . . sive pars altera manualis summae totius theologiae speculativae*, Pragae 1664, 289ff. It was usually a secular person in an important position: in the case of a more important monastery, it was a nobleman; for a smaller rustic monastery, it was also a respected citizen. The person was chosen by the provincial on behalf of the Holy See and there was supposed to be one in each monastery. Syndics had certain obligations to the religious houses (e.g. the overseeing of financial and economic matters) and, at the same time, they and their families and relatives participated in the spiritual benefits of the order.

25 See Luboš Lancinger, "Z místopisu Nového Města pražského v 15.–19. století – Hybernská ulice I" [On the Topography of Prague's New Town in the Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries – Hybernian Street I], *PSH* 20 (1987): 177. For the request by the Irish Franciscans to confirm the sale by the Imperial officials, see NA, SM, ref. no. H 99 1, 11.4.1631, Praha, Bohemian Chamber. It conveys a request by Patrick Fleming and Gerald Geraldin to approve the sale and purchase of the house, which was bought by three Irish Franciscans (contract dated 4 April 1631) from Kateřina Čejková, née Chotouchovská, for 126,000 Meissen groschen. The Irish Franciscans were concerned that her brother Jindřich would claim the house once he reached adulthood. Bruodin's description of the "conquering" of the forge guarded by "a giant blackened by smoke" seems to be pure artistic licence. The date 4.12.1637 is then possibly a misprint (Sousedík, *Jan Duns Scotus*, 323).

26 Lancinger, "Z místopisu Nového Města pražského," lists ten houses which were on the site of the current house no. 1037 and which he denotes A–J. However, it seems that in reality there were only eight houses, as is also confirmed by the anonymous historical record in the archive SM, ref. no. H 99 8. In brackets there is Lancinger's identification: "The Hybernian Fathers own the following houses: the House of Master Jindřich Chotouchovský (J). the House of Master Daniel Nathaniel, townsman S. M. P. (I). the House of Master Jakub Hubáček (H). the House of Master Hendrych Dendulín (F). the House of Master Pavel Polynkar, baker (E). the House of Master Jan Čáslavský, baker (D). the House of Mariána Šulcová, ropemaker (C). and the House of Master Kašpar Belvic (AB)." Houses A and B probably formed one whole. According to Lancinger, who drew on the city records, house G was last mentioned in 1608; however, it is not mentioned in the above record.

27 NA, SM, H 99 8; Lancinger, "Z místopisu Nového Města pražského," 177.

28 *IFD*, no. 12, 12.4.1631, Praha.

29 NA, SM, H 99 4, 14.5.1631, Praha.

30 *IFD*, no. 15, 7.6.1631, Praha.

31 Ibid., no. 17, without date: Jennings included this unaddressed and undated letter in the documents dated 10 July and 6 August.

32 ". . . will begin to take upp the contribution . . ."

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33 NA, ŘHyb Praha, no. 9, 7.6.1631, Praha. Cardinal Harrach, Archbishop of Prague, gives permission to Brothers Fabricius [!] Fleming, Gerald Geraldin and Patrick Taaffe to serve "in cubiculo exstructo in Nova Civitate . . . super altari portatili 55 missas. . ." [55 Masses at a portable altar . . . in a room built in Prague's New Town].

34 See *IFD*, no. 28, 207–208, where such a consecration is already mentioned at the beginning of 1631.

35 Ibid., 209.

36 NA, SbT. A description by Dana Stehlíková with many mistakes (e.g. "řád hybernů [the Order of Hybernians]", "Malachiáš Fullov [Malachy Fullov]", etc.). is included in the exhibition catalogue *"Rudolf II. a Praha. Císařský dvůr a rezidenční město jako kulturní a duchovní centrum střední Evropy"* [*Rudolf II and Prague. The Imperial Court and Residential City as the Cultural and Spiritual Centre of Central Europe*], eds. Eliška Fučíková et al. (Praha: Správa pražského hradu, 1997) 470, catalogue no. V/573.

37 *IFD*, no. 18, 6.8.1631, Praha. Patrick Fleming mentions that he is planning to go to Vienna the next day. At the beginning of the letter, there is also the news that a young Francis Magennis has arrived.

38 Ibid., no. 22, 6.8.1631, Praha. Gerald Fitzgerald [Geraldin] reports to Luke Wadding in detail what happened: "the Capucins being present, healping us for our altar, fa. Magnus himsealf celebrating 3 or 4 tymes in our Chapple and neaver a one of them spake one woord of this business, untle it was the 20 of August that they have sent us this supplication. . .".

39 Ibid., no. 19, 12.9.1631, Praha.

40 Vavřinec Rabas, *Řád kapucínský a jeho působení v Čechách v 17. století* [*The Capuchin Order and its Activity in Bohemia in the Seventeenth Century*] (Praha: [Vydavatelstvo Časopisu katolického duchovenstva], 1937) 48.

41 On the Ambrosian monastery, see Jan Pařez, "Kláštery na Novém Městě pražském do husitských válek a jejich právní a ekonomické postavení v městském prostředí" [Monasteries in Prague's New Town before the Hussite Wars and their Legal and Economic Position in the Urban Environment], *DP* 17 (1998): 75–91, including further literature.

42 See, for example, *IFD*, no. 29, 25.10.1631, Wien. The Austrian Franciscans did not like the ambiguous position of the Irish Franciscan college, see further in the text.

43 See, for example, ibid, no. 27, 28 and in particular Fleming's defence of the new college, no. 32.

44 Ibid, no. 20, 12.9.1631, Wien.

45 Last mentioned by Stanislav Sousedík, *Valerián Magni. Kapitola z kulturních dějin Čech 17. století* [*Valeriano Magni. A Chapter from the Cultural History of Bohemia in the Seventeenth Century*] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1983), which also includes older literature, of which let us mention at least the monograph by František Krásl, *Arnošt hrabě Harrach, kardinál sv. církve římské a kníže arcibiskup pražský* [*Ernst, Count Harrach, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and Prince Archbishop of Prague*] (Praha: Arcibiskupská

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knihtiskárna, 1886), and works by Rabas about the Bohemian Capuchins in the seventeenth century which were published in the second half of the 1930s in the magazine *Časopis katolického duchovenstva* and also as an independent print.

46 Apart from Sousedík's *Valerián Magni*, see also I. Čornejová ed., *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy II, 1622–1802* [*The History of Charles University II, 1622–1802*] (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1996).

47 ". . .that we are neither Peter's, nor Paul's; neither John's, nor James's but Christ's alone. . .". *IFD*, no. 44, 29.7.1632, Praha. Patrick Taaffe to Luke Wadding in Rome.

48 Čornejová ed., *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy II*, 251. Peter Wadding is listed as Dean of Theological Faculty in 1630; he is mentioned as Chancellor in 1632; he held this post as late as 30 August 1638 (Krásl, *Arnošt hrabě Harrach*, 385). Bibliography provided by Ludvík Schmid, "Irská emigrace do střední Evropy v 17. a 18. století" [Irish Emigration to Central Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries], *SH* 33 (1986): 284.

49 See, for example, Krásl, *Arnošt hrabě Harrach*, 370.

50 See also Sousedík, *Valerián Magni*, 27; Rabas, *Řád kapucínský a jeho působení v Čechách*, 114–115; see also a letter by Peter Wadding to Luke Wadding, *IFD*, no. 83, 29.8.1638, Praha.

51 *IFD*, no. 19, 12.9.1631.

52 Ibid., no. 32, *Apologeticus pro Collegii Pragensis Immaculatae Conceptionis ad S. Ambrosium*.

53 The spelling of the name varies from Hore to Hory or even Hoar, see Edward MacLysaght, *Irish Families, Their Names, Arms & Origins* (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1991).

54 Bruodin contradicts himself when he immediately states that Fleming sustained five lethal blows.

55 For a description of the murders, see Bruodin, *Propugnaculum*, 751–753.

56 According to Bruodin, the Franciscans were attacked by the villagers who shouted: "Mactemus, mactemus monachos, patriae pestes, fideique nostrae hostes" [Let's kill the monks, the curse of our homeland and the enemies of our faith]. See Bruodin, *Propugnaculum*, 751.

57 Meaning "bandits," from "Petrovský," the name of the leader of a band of robbers in the seventeenth century.

58 ". . . ab Hussiticis grassatoribus (vulgo Petrowsky) . . .," ibid. 752.

59 The iron grill which Sezima, Count of Vrtba, had made for their tomb was in the course of time removed and replaced by a board with a Czech inscription, which was attached to the pulpit. After the improvement of the interior in 1758, an inscription with similar wording was painted on the wall. When the church was being painted white in 1776, it was damaged and was again renovated by order of the provincial.

60 *IFD*, no. 35, 18.11.1631. Patrick Taaffe wrote from Vienna to Luke Wadding in St. Isidore's College in Rome that the local provincial was "quite contrarie" and that he was awaiting the decision of the general of the order to determine which province the Irish Franciscans of Prague would belong to, how they would live and what permissions they would have regarding the collecting of alms.

61 As early as 8 July, Gerald Geraldin wrote from Prague to Luke Wadding, see ibid., no. 41.

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62 See ibid., no. 44, 29.7.1632, Praha. Patrick Taaffe to Luke Wadding in Rome.

63 Ibid., no. 58, 10.11.1632, Praha. Gerald Geraldin describes the whole story to Wadding and mentions that the guardian of the Capuchins bought “a place in our doore” for 9,000 florins in cash.

64 Ibid., no. 47, 2.11.1632.

65 Ibid., no. 48, 2.11.1632, and especially an extensive request with references to the foundation of other orders in Prague ibid., no. 49, sine dato. Jennings classified it as coming after 2 November. However, many newer documents follow so, according to the inner chronology, it must be a misprint.

66 Ibid., no. 51, 28.8.1632, Wien. Decree of the papal nuncio in Vienna. See also ibid., no. 55, 5.10.1632, Praha., where Geraldin communicated to Wadding that the previous day the Bohemian provincial had come with a mandate from the nuncio, which under the threat of excommunication prohibited any renovation until the general chapter gave its permission. The Capuchins were quiet. However, the most important parts of the college, i.e. the dormitory and chapel, had already been repaired.

67 Crowned also in 1627 in Prague as Queen of Bohemia.

68 *IFD*, no. 50, 21.8.1632, Praha. In a letter, Gerald Geraldin thanked Luke Wadding for the supplicatory letters which he had sent to the Emperor, the Queen of Hungary, Harrach and the nuncio; ibid. in no. 53, 1.9.1632, Praha, he thanked him again and mentioned a letter for the congregation *De propaganda fide*. See ibid. no. 56–58.

69 Ibid., no. 57, 4.11.1632, Praha.

70 Ibid., no. 62, 16.2.1632, Praha. Gerald Geraldin told Luke Wadding amongst other things, that Archbishop Harrach had requested from them two excellent lectors for the archiepiscopal seminary, one in theology and one in philosophy. This was the reason he asked for the four promised brothers.

71 Ibid., no. 63, 26.2.1633, Praha. Geraldin wrote to Luke Wadding that Robert (probably Chamberlain) had written him that in Advent they expected a provincial and a guardian who should determine which brothers would be sent to Prague.

72 NA, ŘHyb Praha, nos. 9, 11, 12 and 15, 20.6.1633, Madrid, Lat. Juan de Campaña, general of the Franciscans of Stricter Observance, consented to the foundation of the College of the Immaculate Conception in Prague. The letter was also published by Jennings in *IFD*, no. 65, 270. In the text, it is mentioned that the previous general, Bernardino de Senis, had already equipped the Prague college with all necessary powers and freedoms.

73 *IFD*, no. 50, 21.8.1632, Praha. Gerald Geraldin informed Luke Wadding, among other things, that he was expecting the arrival of Patrick Taaffe and a companion from Vienna.

74 Ibid., no. 58, 10.11.1632, Praha. Gerald Geraldin wrote to Luke Wadding that the members of the college were “altogether . . . six in number. . .”.

75 Ibid., no. 66, 28.6.1633, Praha. Gerald Geraldin to Luke Wadding.

76 Hammerschmid, *Prodromus gloriae Pragenae*, 301–302, mentions as a newcomer in 1633 Fr. Francis Archepold (it is probably Fr. Aspol) who arrived with Farrell and a lay brother from Salzburg, “P. Ludovicus

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Machamius cum juniore novitio, fratre scilicet Patritio Colomano, quos mos secuti sunt P. Petrus # Moloy cum P. Paulo Frain, deinde P. Antonius Gavanus, item P. Laurentius # Bruin cum P. Jacobo Cavello in februario 1634. Quos eodem Anno P. Simon, P. Flemingus, frater Rochus, & frater Assius novitius secuti sunt" came from Flanders (i.e. from Louvain).

77 *IFD*, no. 74, 7.6.1634, Praha. Some other names, mostly in slightly distorted form, are stated again by Hammerschmid: Bonaventure Bermigham, Anthony Caron, Hugo Brinan, Kornelius Keoch, Evžen Chymanay, Patrik Warde and Bernard Lynsius.

78 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 136; NA, AZK, carton no. 45, no. 60.

79 Vrbčanský, *Nucleus minoriticus*, 304–313.

80 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 137–139. An undated petition by the Bohemian Franciscans to the Emperor, to which he refers in note no. 13, is stored in NA, ŘF, carton no. 22, together with other documents related to Namslav. The members of the Bohemian Franciscan province mainly used the argument that the Irish, due to their lack of language ability and ignorance of the situation, would not be able to impact on non-Catholics. At the same time, in Prague there were priests who could hear confessions in German as evidenced by the lists of persons suitable to send out on a mission which were sent to Cardinal Harrach in 1656–1657.

81 Quotes here from the order's regulations are from *Constitutiones et statuta generalia Cismontanae familiae ordinis sancti Francisci*, Romae 1663.

82 For the Bohemian province, we had at our disposal *Statuta et decreta fratrum minorum s. Patris Francisci reformatorum provinciae Bohemiae S. Wenceslai ducis et martyris*, (s.l.) 1673.

83 NA, ŘF, book no. 13. *Statuta domestica pro religio regimine fratrum minorum strictioris observantiae provinciae Hiberniae, collegii Immaculatae conceptionis B. V. Mariae Pragae*.

84 Ibid. In 1664, the regulations were reviewed, amended and confirmed by the general of the order, Michaelangelo de Sambuca. In the college, it was signed by the guardian Anthony Burke, *lector jubilatus* Daniel Bruoder, *lector jubilatus* Bernardine Clancy, *lector jubilatus sanctae theologiae* Anthony Farrell, *lector jubilatus sanctae theologiae* and vicar Bernard O'Neill and, last but not least, Anthony Donnelly, commissary visitator.

85 Ulster, Munster, Leinster or Connaught.

86 According to information kindly provided by Joseph MacMahon OFM, this condition is not included in the copy of the 1665 statutes of the college in the library of St. Isidore's College in Rome.

87 Bruodin, *Corolla oecodomiae*, 295.

88 Ibid., 256.

89 These were the instructions for solving more complex cases which confessors might encounter.

90 Here, the term "familia" means a family or group of provinces, for example, "familia Transmontana," the transalpine family.

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